2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2



175 Certainly the Kazak, within a hundred years of their separation from the Usbeg, numbered among themselves many groups of diverse tribal origin, such as Kipčak, Naiman, Kongrat, Djailair and Kangli[16] whose names are found among other Turkic and Mongol peoples. Baber[17] refers to the Kazak in his time (1483–1530) as a powerful people, and at the time of Jenkinson's journey (1558) to Central Asia they controlled the cities of Tashkent and Turkestan.[18]

The tendency to fission and separation, however, soon made itself evident again and resulted in the division of the Kazak into three hordes or ordas. There is no authoritative evidence indicating exactly when, how, or why the division occurred. Vel'iaminov-Zernov[19] has suggested that it dates from the seventeenth century when the cities of Tashkent and Turkestan, with the surrounding country, were occupied by Kazak groups. These groups, according to Vel'iaminov-Zernov, tended to become partly sedentary and thus distinguished from the pure nomads to the east and west of them. From this cultural differentiation, he thinks, developed the three divisions. Radlov[20] considers this theory highly improbable, and believes that the separate ordas did not come into existence until the eighteenth century, although he admits that no one knows the precise circumstances of their origin. A Russian map of 1673[21] refers vaguely to the Kazak ordas, in the plural, but as they are not specified this may be merely a general term. Bartold[22] accepts the division into ordas as already existing at the end of the seventeenth century but points out that they were temporarily reunited under the khan Tiavka during the first years of the eighteenth century. Howorth,[23] without giving reasons for his belief, thinks that the division "may most reasonably be traced" to Tiavka. Asfendiarov[24] suggests that the separation developed gradu- [221] ally from the requirements of nomad economy: Kazakstan is naturally divided into three pastoral regions by the availability of suitable summer and winter grazing grounds which correspond roughly to the locations of the three ordas.

This last suggestion is of interest in relation to the fact that the ordas tended to become merely geographical expressions and during long periods were lacking in any political unity within themselves. The Great Orda particularly was broken up into a number of groups under rival leaders.[25]

As evidence of the lack of stability of the ordas and also of the process by which they may have developed one may observe the appearance at the beginning of the nineteenth

[16] Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 193; Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 138; Kuftin, *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 8.
[17] Beveridge, *Babur-Nama in English*, 23–24.
[18] Jenkinson, *Early Voyages and Travels*, 72: 90–91.
[19] Vel'iaminov-Zernov, *Izsledovanie o Kasimovskikh Tsariakh*, 10: 382–83.
[20] Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 194–95.
[21] Baddeley, *Russia, Mongolia, China*, 1: cxxxix.
[22] Bartold, *Istoriia Turetsko-mongol'skikh Narodov*, 26.
[23] Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, 2: 640–42.
[24] Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 81–82.
[25] Howorth, *op. cit.*, 2: 674.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2



might vary from fifty to a thousand or more.[2] Radlov, however, says[3] that the aul consisted (621
of six to ten families, and Lansdell[4] estimates ten in the Orenburg region but frequently fifteen or more farther south. Levshin is noncommittal and remarks[5] that the number of tents comprising an aul " . . . depends upon circumstances." Vladimirtsov,[6] in dealing with Mongol material, contrasts the aul (Mongol: ayil) manner of migration in small groups to an earlier practice of migrating in units of several hundred kibitkas, but one must be wary of assuming that similar terms in Mongol and Kazak mean the same thing.

In general it seems likely that the term aul does not apply to any definitely fixed group but signifies any kind of encampment. The size of these encampments varied considerably with the seasonal round in the economic life of the Kazak, which we may now consider.

## SEASONAL VARIATIONS

There were three important periods in the yearly cycle of Kazak economy, correspond- 22
ing roughly to summer, autumn and winter.

Summer (çaz) was the period of pasturage on the open ranges, involving journeys from one pasture to the next as the first became exhausted. In some places also this was the time at which hay was gathered as winter fodder for the herds. Autumn (kyz) when the shearing (kyzem) of the sheep took place, was the busiest period of the year for most Kazak. It was also the time to make preparations for winter, to finish storing away the hay, to repair the roof and walls of the winter habitation and, among those groups which had agriculture, to harvest the crops. The winter season (qŀs) was one of comparative rest and relaxation.

The dates for beginning the migration to summer pastures varied with the locality, the climatic conditions of the particular year, and the habits of the group. Generally it was about the end of May or beginning of June. This was the case with Tlenshiev's group in the Uralsk region and also with Kargabaiev's in the vicinity of Alma-ata. Rudenko writes of the Kazak in the southern foothills of the Altai:[7] "Some leave at the first show of green but most in the latter part of May or first of June. . . . The wealthy start earlier than the poor people." Kuftin however says:[8]

> The Kazak of the northern districts move out during the second half of March, but in the south at the end of February or beginning of March because of the necessity of passing the barren sandy tracts before hot weather while the steppes are still covered with fresh vegetation and there are no spiders and insects to harass the cattle.

[2] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 147.
[3] Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 513.
[4] Lansdell, *Russian Central Asia*, 319.
[5] *Description des hordes*, 312.
[6] *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 37.
[7] Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 4.
[8] *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 21–23.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 BQ2 Kazak BQ2



221 It is difficult to get precise information on the distances covered by different groups in the seasonal migrations. There appears to have been a great deal of variation. My own information indicates that such journeys were much shorter than is usually assumed to be the case, but this may be because both principal informants belonged to groups which lived near the mountains, so that it was only necessary to go a short distance to find good pasturage in the valleys and foothills. Kargabaiev's group, for example, went only about nine kilometers, while Tlenshiev's group used to go twenty or thirty kilometers or perhaps farther if conditions in any particular place proved unfavorable. In any case they were not familiar with migrations covering hundreds of miles. On the other hand Kuftin[9] speaks of journeys of hundreds of versts[10] " . . . from the southern desert latitudes to the northern steppes" and back again at the end of summer. Karutz[11] says that the Kazak of the Mangyschlak region would go from Uralsk in the north to Krasnovodsk in the south, a straight line distance of about 1,300 kilometers, and from the eastern shore of the Caspian to the west bank of the Aral Sea, an average distance of about 375 kilometers. In this connection it is interesting to note that at present in Mongolia the longest migration[12]

> . . . in the yearly cycle is well under 300 kilometers. The average is about 150. To travel immense distances in search of pasture is not only difficult, it is against all nomad traditions, nor is it necessary for them in order to maintain their herds.

The most complete information on migratory habits is given by Rudenko.[13] One group in the southern Altai whose winter quarters was on the left bank of the Bukhtarma River, a tributary of the Irtysh, left winter quarters about the first of June and proceeded along the river to make their first camp about 50 kilometers from the starting point. Here they remained for ten days and then went 10 kilometers farther on to the second halting place, where they stayed another ten days. The next stop was about 12 kilometers farther on, where they halted for another ten or twelve days. The fourth halting place was some 25 kilometers beyond the third and there they spent the month of July. The return trip began in August and likewise consisted of a few easy stages with halts of about ten days or two weeks at each. They arrived back in the vicinity of winter quarters at the end of September in time to harvest the hay and store it for the winter. The complete circuit was not over 200 kilometers.

Such a routine seems fairly typical of Kazak summer migrations.

Some illumination on the variability in the length of the journeys is afforded by Kuftin's remark[14] that in the districts where agriculture had developed they did not move so far

[9] *Idem*, 19.
[10] A verst equals 0.6629 miles.
[11] Karutz, *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 49.
[12] Fox, *Genghis Khan*, 9.
[13] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 4-8.
[14] *Kirgis-Kazaki*, 19.

from winter quarters; they prepared the ground, sowed the crops and then departed, leaving the poorer members of the group to keep watch over the planted lands until their return for the harvest.

The difficulty of determining what should be considered the migratory unit has been suggested in the discussion above of the nature of the aul. According to Kargabaiev the Davlet uru and other people living with them, forming together the Karastaq aul, were divided during the period of summer pasturage into groups of five or six related families who set up their kibitkas in one place when they camped and moved together from one part to another of the whole area traditionally utilized by the Davlet uru. He explained that when he had said previously that they only journeyed 9 kilometers to summer pastures he meant it was 9 kilometers from the common winter quarters to the beginning of the upland pastures where they separated into smaller groups.

Such was apparently the condition described by Grodekov[15] in writing, "They migrated as a society of one gens [Russian: rod] but admitted to the aul individuals from other gentes related through the mother's line and also poor people hired as workers. The routes of migration were fixed for each gens which had its designated place for summer and autumn." Then, a few lines later, "They migrate in groups of a greater or less number of kibitkas." The first statement seems to refer to the uru as it may be considered a migratory unit, and the second to its component parts of family groups. A further statement emphasizes this point.[16] "In summer they live more in scattered groups; in winter more compactly. If they lived too closely together in summer there would be an inadequacy of pasture and the cattle would become mixed up."

The small family groups, in theory at least, might camp anywhere convenient for them in the general area occupied by the uru and remain as long as they liked. Grodekov states[17] that the master of each kibitka started out and halted when he wished. The leaders of the uru, the aqsaqal " . . . or, according to some, the rich men, suggest, but do not compel."[18]

This indication of the persuasive power of the rich, along with Grodekov's previously quoted remark concerning the presence in the aul of poor people hired as workers, paves the way to a consideration of the distinctions between rich and poor in connection with the yearly round of economic life.

Such distinctions were very marked. It was primarily the wealthy and middle class herd owners who migrated with their animals, taking along with them a large number of herdsmen and shepherds. These, according to my informants, were of two kinds: first, poor relatives of the cattle owner, members of his own uru, who worked for him without pay and toward whom he stood in a patriarchal relation as their patron and protector; and second, hired workers of another uru who received wages. Rudenko writes:[19]

[15] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 109–10.
[16] *Idem*, 110.
[17] *Kyrgyzy i Karakyy*, 110.
[18] See also Dingelstadt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 214.
[19] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 30.

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It is clear that there has been a marked change in the herding economy in general during the last few centuries, which has of course been much accelerated during recent generations. Asfendiarov[28] remarks on the increasing restriction of the Kazak nomads during the eighteenth century by the expansion of Russia on the north, China in the east and the sedentary influence of the khanates of Bokhara and Kokand in the south. Because of the growth of settled areas it became no longer possible for the nomads to find new pastures during periodic crises due to drought. A struggle therefore developed among the various Kazak groups for the possession of the available lands, with a consequent elimination of the weaker groups. Those who succumbed in this process became hired herdsmen, caravan drivers, turned to agriculture, or went to the cities. Simultaneously the increasing restriction of pasture lands produced a decline of horse culture and an increase of sheep and goat herding. The herding of horses on a large scale was restricted to the rich and powerful, while small horned cattle became the basis of the economy of the poor and semi-settled people. This tendency was further stimulated by the increased demand for wool from the Central Asian markets which made sheep raising profitable. These historical observations receive confirmation from Levshin who observed[29] that at the time of his visit (about 1825) the Kazak in general possessed few horned cattle. He was told that a hundred years previously they had had none at all.

This increase of sheep raising made the autumn, when the shearing was done, a busy time. During this period the social groupings of the summer period of migration remained substantially the same. Although shearing usually took place not far from the site of the winter quarters, it was carried on by groups of a few families as in the case of the summer herding. The poor relatives and hired workers who served the large herd owners in the summer were engaged in clipping the sheep and in making general preparation for winter. This period lasted from August or the first part of September through October, when most groups moved into their winter quarters.

The dwellings for the winter were permanent structures of wattle, adobe, sod, or, more rarely, of wood or stone. They were usually called qɒstav but by some groups of the Great Orda, tam. Generally they consisted of one room but those of the rich might contain several. Adjoining the qɒstav were a number of fenced-in sarai, or corrals, surrounded with mud or wattle walls where the animals were kept. There were separate corrals for each kind of animal and sometimes a stable as well, built like the qɒstav and frequently connected with it. There were also storage places for the winter's supply of hay. Thus around each qɒstav were numerous outbuildings.

In winter the entire uru group and other people associated with it, who during the summer season had been broken up into units of a few families, lived together. Each family as a general rule had its own qɒstav so that the winter quarters of a moderate sized group formed a village of several hundred houses as well as outbuildings and corrals.

During the winter season work was not onerous. It consisted largely in caring for the

[28] *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 86–95.
[29] *Description des hordes*, 409.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2



221 During the winter season work was not onerous. It consisted largely in caring for its
621 animals, and in carrying water from the adjacent springs, lake or river. An adequate water supply, in addition to a sheltered location, was the chief requirement of a good site for winter quarters. At this time also there was some work done by individuals specializing as blacksmiths and carpenters.

There appears to have been a significant number of the group, roughly twenty percent according to my information, who spent the entire year in the winter quarters. These people, having few if any animals of their own, occupied themselves in cutting hay in the meadows of their wealthy patrons or, where agriculture had developed, in tending small plots of their own. In addition hunting was for them an important economic resource. A similar observation is made in the handbook *Kasakstan i Kirgiziia*:[30]

> The poor people having no possibility to journey, remain at the kstau the year round. In some cases where agriculture is being taken seriously they are tied to the kstau for harvesting and making hay . . . .

It should be noted, however, that according to my informants it was not necessarily the same twenty percent of the people each year who stayed in winter quarters during the summer, although there appears to have been a definite tendency toward adopting a sedentary life.

The development of permanent habitations for winter occupancy is comparatively recent among the Kazak. On the other hand the practice of spending each winter in the same place in a spot well sheltered and well watered is very ancient and general among all the Central Asiatic nomadic groups. The *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*[31] has a reference to the Kazak setting out for their winter quarters in the year 919 [1513–14 A.D.]. This need not, however, indicate that these winter quarters were the substantial dwellings found among
[342] most Kazak groups today. At the present time, according to Tlenshiev, there is a group named Adaj in the southern Urals who built no qɨstav but lived in kibitkas all the year. My informants, however, considered this as a fact worthy of remark and were all somewhat amused by such backwardness. Kuftin writes:[32]

> Some Kazaks spend the winter in the same yurt [kibitka], only digging it into the ground and inner-lining it with a second coat of felt on the inside, but such Kazaks are found in the southern desert part of the country in very small numbers.

The Kazak in the Altai occupied kibitkas the year round only thirty or forty years ago.[33]

221 Likewise the habit of laying in fodder for the use of the cattle in winter is quite recent.
233 Levshin notes[34] that the Kazak near the border of Russian territory were in his time beginning to store up winter supplies, and also to provide artificial shelters for their

[30] *Kazakstan i Kirgiziia*, 9.
[31] Muhammad Haidar, *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, 277.
[32] *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 35.
[33] Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 32.
[34] *Description des hordes*, 312.

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animals against inclement weather. Formerly it had been the practice, as was still the case in many places until very recently, to graze the herds in the open throughout the winter. The horses would first break the crust of the snow with their hoofs and eat the tops of the grass, after which the other animals could get at the remaining stalks.[35] Even at the present time[36] most cattle are pastured out during the winter. Rich men especially sent off their cattle to graze under the care of herdsmen since their large herds could not all be accommodated in or near the winter quarters.

Agriculture, except perhaps in the extreme south, where the influence of Bokhara was strong, is an even more recent innovation than the provision of fodder, and less widely practised. Only the poorest individuals who had neither animals nor other means of subsistence resorted to it.[37] The recency of the development of agriculture is apparently reflected in the question of land ownership which will be examined along with other property rights.

## PROPERTY RIGHTS

Kazak social structure as manifested in property rights may be considered in relation to ownership of cattle, grazing lands, the winter habitations, and agricultural and meadow land.

Cattle were all held in the individual ownership of members of the group, usually by male heads of families. There is some indication, however, to suggest that they could be considered as belonging to the family as a whole but held in trust and utilized for their benefit by its head. Such a situation, for example, might be implied by the right of sons to demand from their father a portion of his animals on coming of age.

There is also perhaps a suggestion of former even wider communal ownership of cattle in the custom of marking all animals belonging to members of a particular uru with the same cut or brand (таңба) (usually mentioned in the literature as tamga).[38] To infer from this, however, an earlier communal ownership of cattle is extremely unsafe. Although similar tamgas for a whole uru were widely known it is very uncertain to what extent they were used to mark cattle. In recent times at least most cattle appear to have been marked with a personal individual tamga of their owner. According to my informants group tamgas were not used on animals; each man might have not only his own tamga but a different kind of mark for each kind of animal. This is confirmed by Grodekov who adds significantly[39] " . . . anyone wishing to mark his cattle may *invent* [italics mine] his own tamga but once having adopted it he may not alter it." Although everyone was in theory entitled to his

[35] See Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 412; also Pallas, *Voyages*, 1: 600.

[36] Baronov, Bukeikhan, and Rudenko, *Kazaki*, 8–9.

[37] Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 413; Zaleskie, *La Vie des steppes*, 53–54; Meyendorff, *Voyage d'Orenbourg*, 38; Wood, *The Shores of Lake Aral*, 108

[38] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 3–4, and supplement, 4–7; Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 279; Czaplicka, *Turks of Central Asia*, 41–42.

[39] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 3.

2: Hudson E-4, 3 (-936) 1938 BQS Kazak BQS



meadow lands where hay was raised which were restricted. This position he maintained vigorously thereafter. 423

Some light on this difficulty is afforded by the statement:[45]

> Pasture land usually is apportioned among tribal groups but at the present time when the Kazak have not so many cattle they are not very strict about boundaries. A Kazak may go anywhere he wishes . . . . The meadow land, on the other hand, is allotted carefully and remains the inalienable property of the given person.

Most writers, however, indicate that the pasture lands of the uru groups were definitely delimited. Grodekov says that the lands were divided among the various nomadic groups according to the number of their animals but that there were frequent quarrels concerning boundaries.[46] Radlov[48] says that there was a definite division of lands among the "tribes" and that none would permit the trespass of another group in its own territory. Kuftin declares:[48]

> In view of the strict allotment of summer pastures no Kazak considers stopping in a strange place for more than one day. During the migrations each tribe follows a certain route, according to an established habitual law based on prescriptive right. Each summer range is used only by a definite group . . . . Disputable questions are settled by a meeting of representatives of the interested parties. [221]

The degree to which the pastoral area occupied by a particular group was definitely subdivided and assigned among its members is also not clear. Rudenko says[47] that although the land belonged to the "tribal group" and the member of it who came first had the right to the best place, families tended to go to the traditional places and others avoided them. This is even more strongly pointed out by Grodekov in observing that places customarily occupied by a family or group of families came to be considered as theirs by right.[48] On the other hand Radlov[49] says that he knows of no instances of divisions of the summer area among individual families. The apportionment of grazing land among the members of the uru lay in the hands of its leaders and was not always done with fairness. Everyone was free to move about at will within the area of the group. However, Radlov adds significantly, "Natürlich ist diese Freiheit nur in der Theorie eine vollkommene. Der Reiche und Angesehene weiss es natürlich so einzurichten, dass er den besten Platz erhält."

All the evidence concerning the basis of occupancy of the grazing lands is admittedly unsatisfactory. To obtain details it would be necessary to study the question over a considerable period of time in a culture in which the nomadic life was still actively pursued.

[45] Baronov, Bukeikhan, and Rudenko, *Kazaki*, 9.
[46] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 213.
[48] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 414–15.
[48] *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 24.
[47] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 10.
[48] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 214.
[49] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 417–18.

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671 Buildings raised on the tilled lands of the nomads become their property, on the same bases which have been established for buildings on the winter camps.

Lands which lie under nomadic and livestock driving roads are left to the general use of the area. (1)

1. Articles 270-279 of the code for the administration of the Turkestan region.

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221 Nomadizing (kushpek) is one of the oldest forms of life, and is inherent to the herdsmen because of the fact that the many animals in their herds soon exhaust all the fodder under foot if they remain in one place.

The Kazakhs follow ancient custom in nomadizing even to the present time. They move about in communities of one clan, permitting only kinsmen in the female line or poor men, hiring themselves as workers, into their villages from other clans. Every clan has its precise places of summer (zhaylyau) and autumn (kuzdyau) nomadizing.

On the eve of their departure from the winter camp they have a feast. After the feast, two fires are lit between the pillars of the gates, or if there are no gates, between a construction built to resemble gates. An older woman, who stands between them, takes a vessel made of a gourd (kabak) and breaks it, saying: "All sorrows have flown away with the breaking of this vessel" (kabak syndy kaygy kitty). Then the same woman takes the camels, which are already loaded, and leads them out of the enclosure. At the same time men, [782] women and children jump across the fires, saying: away, away!. (alas, alas). They go about 5-6 versts from the winter camp, stop, set up their tents, slaughter horses and sheep and arrange a kudai, i. e., a sacrifice to a god. During the slaughtering of the animals, they say: "May we be as happy in /110/ a new place, as we were in the old" ( iski dzhurtta isorke [illegible] dzhurtta dzharlyka).

They nomadize in groups (tap tap) of various numbers of tents. Setting out on the road is not determined by the authorities. The master of each tent is free to move or remain, as he wishes. The aksakals, or according to the Kirgiz Kurpetai Dauletkulov, rich men, give orders but do not insist. The same is true of the selection of places to stop and the grouping of the tents. In the summer they live

more spread out, (tarau), and in the winter more compactly. They do not come close to each other, because there would be a shortage of grass and water, and the livestock would begin to get mixed. The milking animals (sauaman) are grazed around the village itself, where they are milked twice a day. The remaining animals graze farther away, where there is more grass. Camping along roads, even small roads, is avoided. If they are obliged to camp on a road, they hide themselves behind a hill, in order not to have guests. Those who live along the roads are buzagery (1) and the most desperate people.

1. The sellers of buza - an intoxicating drink made of millet. [273]

In former times migration to a new place took place (according to Mikebai, of the Perovsk uyezd) without a preliminary request for consent from those living near that place. Now it is required, at least from those who have livestock, to send a scout a day in advance (konys karab kitpek). If someone has migrated in without permission and refuses to leave, they give him a beating for which he cannot complain to a bii. However consent for a migration to come in is not refused without particularly important reasons. It is refused where the pastures have been allocated. According to Abdrakhman (of the Auliy . a uyezd), nomad Kazakhs (elbay kazak) can migrate with livestock without permission into the steppes which are not divided up into hayfields and other sectors.

A scout who finds a new place, for example, a well, unoccupied, places a mark (bel'gi) by it, a spear or an object, or draws his seal on the ground or ties high grass together /111/ growing beside the well or spring. When they see the sign others will already avoid choosing this place for their camp.

If the leader of a nomadic group selects a place for it and does not mark it with one of the signs listed above, and then departs to inspect the surrounding pastures, and on his return finds the leader of another village occupying his place, the declaration of the first leader is not taken into consideration. When two leaders who arrive at the same time from opposite directions dispute over the same place, the dispute is settled in the following fashion. If one of the disputants is a bii, and the other an aksakal known throughout the clan, a chief, then the place is yielded in favor of the latter. If the dispute takes place between a bii and a simple Kazakh, the area in dispute remains with the former. If the two disputants are simple people, it is decided in favor of the oldest. The same thing takes place if both men are biis or aksakals. If the

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233 disputants are the same age, the seniority of the clan or the lineage is taken into consideration.

[423] Among the Kirgiz, no one can occupy a summer camp where a certain clan has nomadized for a long time. It is possible to say: "I have no summer camp. Permit me to be your neighbor" (kongsylash). But nothing can be done in case of refusal, for what right can be had to a strange summer camp? (brauning yailauinda nese bar).

If one clan enters the pastures of another, representatives of the latter receive kurabashi from the former, i. e., one sheep from each herd. (1)

1. Kura - a herd up to 600 heads.

[416] If a village migrates to a locality near which another village is already camped, and the livestock of the former should worry or kill some animal belonging to the village which migrated to this locality first, the former group must pay the injured party for everything he has lost. But if the livestock of the village which arrived first worries or kills an animal belonging to a village which migrated there later, the latter receives no remuneration at all.

571 /112/ The ancient custom of the gratuitous giving of food (kunakasy beru) to a guest (1) and his horse, and a place to sleep is

1. Calling the guest "of God" (khuday kunak) is probably a transposition of the Sart proverb: "A guest is a gift of God" (mikhman atai khuda).

based 1) on community of property, for the Kazakhs call this kunakasy the unalotted property of Alasha (Alashtyng uleismegen inchisi), (2) and

2. Although according to the sense of this saying, non-Kazakhs do not have a right to kunakasy, they too are not refused.

2) on the fear that if the guest dies of hunger wergeld will be demanded for him.

Tradition attributes the establishment of kunakasy to the Kazakh clan founder Alasha. In his old age Alasha kept a part of his livestock for himself and divided the remainder of the livestock among his three sons, from whom the three hordes existing today are descended. He called the share of the property received by each of them inchi, i. e., the imprescriptible and inviolable property of each of them. "But," he added, "under the conditions of your nomadic life, because of your kinds of occupations, in

[305 cont.]

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## Chapter III. Principal Camping Sites of the Kirghiz-Kazaks.

Although the descent lines and tribes of the Kazaks, who are constantly moving from one place to another, cannot have [306] fixed habitations just for this reason, nor can they possess lands, strictly speaking, still, in order to avoid disputes, each group stays as much as possible in the same camping places, especially during the winter. Only reasons of the greatest importance can make them go against this custom.

Their present camping sites are approximately in the following places:

The Little Horde

The Alimuly descent line always spends the winter on the Syr [Darya] River, the Kuvan, and on the dry bed of the Yany-Darya, as well as in the sands of Kara-Kum, Burzuk /Barsuki/, and at the mouth of the Emba. Only a small part [of this descent line] camps on the Ilek River, the Or, and the Ural, from the fort of Krasnogorsk to that of Verkhne-Ozernaya. Their summer camps are on the Temir, Emba, Sagiz, Uil, Ilek, Khobda, Or, and Irgiz rivers, in the Mugodzhar Hills, and in the sands of Kara-Kum.

The Baiuly tribes are Adai, Cherkes, Tana, Baibakty, Shikhlar, Maskar, Kizil-Kurt, Issen-Temir, part of the Djappas [233] tribe, and most of the Alacha, Tazlar, and Bershch tribes. All nomadize in the territory opposite the lower Ural River line and spend the summer between the Ural and the Emba, in the vicinity of the Karakul lakes and the Kuldagaity, Buldurty, Ulenty, Djusaly, Chungurlau, Ankaty, and Uilu rivers, as far as the Khobda. In winter they camp on the Caspian Sea, at the mouths of the Ural and the Emba, on the gulfs opposite Guryev, and some parts of the Adai tribe camp on Mangyshlak. The rest of the Tazlar, Alacha, and Bershch tribes are on the Syr [Darya], the Kuvan, and in the sands of Kara-Kum. Most of the Yappas camp in summer on the Tobol and the Turgai, opposite Troitsk, and in winter on the Syr [Darya] and the Kuvan.

[306 cont.]

Moreover, as was said earlier, several parts of all the tribes of the Baiuly descent line (except for the Yappas tribe) crossed over in 1801 and 1802 [307] into the government of Astrakhan, under the leadership of Sultan Bukei. They camp in the district called Ryn Peski and form the horde there which is called the Bukei Horde.

The Djagal-Baily tribe, of the descent line of the Seven Tribes, spends the winter in the vicinity of the Irgiz, the Or, the Kumak, and the Sugunduk /Suunduk/ rivers, and the Karacha Mountains. It spends the summer near the Russian border, from the fort of Verkhne-Ozernaya to Verkhne-Uralsk, and extends south as far as the Irgiz.

The winter camps of the Kerder and Tama tribes are on the Ural River, from Orenburg to Uralsk, and their summer camps are on the Donguz, Khobda, Kanlys, and Ilek rivers.

Most of the Tabyn tribe camps near the two preceding tribes. Another part camps on the Tobol, Turgai, Syr [Darya], Kuvan, and Emba rivers.

The rest move with the Middle Horde along the shores of the Issel and Tsu, and the desert known as the Aremetei.

The Kereit tribe spends the winter along the Syr [Darya], and in summer it comes to the Irgiz River, the Karacha Mountains, and Troitsk.

The Tiliev or Tilieu and Ramadan tribes in winter live on the Syr [Darya] and the Kuvan, near the camps of the Kereits. In summer they go to the Turgai River and the vicinity of Lake Urkach-Kandykli.

The Middle Horde

The Argyn tribe moves about in the vicinity of the Ulug, Boyan-Ola, Ireimen, Kizyl, Kuyucha, and Mukcha mountains, and the districts of Urch-Burlyk, Kylchakty, Uch-Kundan, and Bikchentei, and the shores of the Turgai, Nura, Tobol, Irtysh, Sary-Su, Ishim, Issel, Ubagan, Ulkoyak, and Ayati rivers, as well as the sands of Kara-Tusun and the environs of the Kizyl, Kurzhan, Tiba, and Bish-Kun lakes.

Most of the Naiman tribe [sic] occupies the Tarbagatai Range, the upper sections of the Irtysh River, and several other

[307 cont.]

101 361 221 619

localities in the direction of the eastern borders of the [308] Chinese empire. The rest of them occupy the upper parts of the Ishim, a sector of the shores of the Turgai, Kara-Uziek, Syr [Darya], Kuvan, Lap-Su, and Kuk-Su rivers, the vicinity of Lake Ak, and the Ulug and Kichi mountains, etc.

The Kipchak descent line camps on the shores of the Issel, Turgai, Chakiek, Ubagan, Tobol, Ayat, Muyunli, and Uya rivers, opposite the forts of Troitsk, Stepnoi, and Ust-Uisk, and in the Kara-Kum desert, as well as in the districts of Aman-Karagay, Ebelei, Yedis, and Tiriekly.

The camps of the Uvak-Girei descent line are on the Ubagan, Ishim, Uya, Taguzak, Irtysh, Issel, Sary-Su, and Tsui or Chui rivers, as well as in the sands of Ich-Kungur, the vicinity of Lake Kechubay-Charkar, and opposite the part of the line between the forts of Stepnoi and Verkho-Uralsk, as well as opposite the forts of Zverinogolovskoye and Presnogorkovskoye.

The Great Horde

The tribes of which we have spoken camp on the Chui or Tsui, Tala-Su, Ili, Kuk-Su, Karatal, Chirchik, Syr [Darya], and Sara-Su rivers, in the vicinity of the lakes of Kara, Ala, Al-Su, and Anamas and the cities of Kuldja, Kashgar, Kukan /Kokand/, Tashkent, and Turkestan, and in the neighborhood of the Kara-Tau, Tarbagatai, and Chingiz-Tsazan [Chingis-Tau] mountains, as well as in the district called the Seven Rivers /Semirechie/. They are also in other regions near the Chinese border, in the old lands of the Dzungars. Some tribes live in the towns of Tashkent and Turkestan and in the near-by villages.

One part of the Kunkrat descent line moves about in these same areas, while another part camps with the Naimans.

[309] Chapter IV. Way of Life.

The Kazak way of life is a faithful image of that of the patriarchs. The sight of a whole nation of shepherds, who live only, so to speak, for their flocks, the settlements or auls which

152 181 221 132

[310 cont.]

in and protect the interior of the tent from dust and the heat of the sun. The tents of ordinary people are of gray felt, and those of the great or the rich of white felt. But some sultans, the most powerful ones in the Middle and the Great Hordes, have theirs covered with red cloth and lined inside with fabrics of silk. The poorest people, on the contrary, substitute mats of tree bark and leaves for the pieces of felt, and sometimes they even use reeds and grass.

The far side of the tent, opposite the door, is occupied by chests covered with rugs. These serve for the storage of dresses, robes, and other clothing. Rifles, sabers, bows, arrows, saddles, harnesses, powderhorns, etc. are hung inside the tent, as well as towels, teapots, jugs, tursuks (kinds of sacks of hide), and frequently pieces of smoked horsemeat as well. The ground, which serves as the floor, is covered with rugs or pieces of felt. On these rugs great vases are arranged, kettles, wooden headboards [chevets] on which pillows are placed, and boxes of a special kind which are ornamented in different ways and in which sacks are placed which contain kumiss.

A Kazak assembles and dismantles his tent in half an hour and constantly carries it on the back of a camel to the places where he finds good pasturage and water for his herds. Thus he is more dependent upon his herds and studs than on anything else.

[311] Later we will give a detailed description of their herds. But it should be stated here that this kind of occupation determines all their social obligations and relations, so that no matter how one imagines a Kazak one can only see an armed shepherd in him. And the habit and taste for the pastoral life is the source of all his actions, both moral and physical.

The continual travels of the Kazaks and the change of location does not tire them. On the contrary, they find in it a source of pleasure and consider themselves lucky not to be attached to the soil. During the summer the nomadic life is really very pleasant, but it is unbearable during the winter. During this season the Kazak, surrounded on all sides by piles of snow, rarely emerge from their tents. There, huddled around the fire (1), they suffer almost

1. In places where there is no wood, they use animal dung for fuel.

[311 cont.]

equally from heat and cold.

The violence of the wind brings enormous flakes of snow into the tent through the door and the opening at the top, and sometimes a storm blows over the felt edifice with all its occupants. The children, half-naked, come out from under the felts or the sheepskins in which they are usually enveloped, throw themselves on the hot cinders, burn their hands and feet, and utter cries which pierce the heart.

In order to protect themselves from the misfortunes and unpleasantness which winter causes them, the Kazaks choose for their winter camp the middle of some grove, reeds, hills, or the sands in the southern part of the steppes.

We have said earlier that their camps, winter as well as summer, cannot be exactly determined and are not always occupied by the same inhabitants. Nevertheless, they are quite constant in the choice of the former, because not all localities present the [312] necessary conditions for a winter camp to the same degree and because the depth of the snow does not allow them to move.

Some Kazaks, especially those who are nearest to the Russian border, collect supplies of fodder in the autumn, dig pits in the ground to put their livestock in, and build fences of wattling, when the place permits it, to protect themselves from the wind, especially the north wind.

The suffering they are caused by the frosts and storms makes them celebrate the return of spring with rapture. They spend most of the summer days sleeping and drinking kumiss, and they eat very little meat. At night they gather to enjoy the pleasures of the table together, and to tell each other stories, or to listen to musicians who play the chibyzga or the balalaika.

But the autumn is the best time of the year for them. It is in this season that they undertake their longest trips (1), and they

1. We will note in passing that superstition prevents the Kazaks from undertaking long trips when the moon is on the wane.

221 [312 cont.]
[484] have their principal festivals at this time also. They also choose
[527] autumn to practice barantas (2), for this season is favorable because
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2. See footnote 1, Chapter II, page 167, on the barantas.

of the darkness of the nights and the vigor of the horses, which have been restored in good pastures for a whole season and are all the better disposed for long-distance and rapid running.

361 The Kazaks rarely camp in large numbers in the same place,
721 for their herds would be too cramped for space. But they form groups of several families, united by ties of blood or by reciprocal advantages. These groups move in a body from one place to another and do not separate unless there are important reasons. These mobile villages are called auls. The number of tents which comprise them depends on the circumstances.

101 Some Kazaks live in Khiva, the dominion of Bukhara, the
[241] possessions of [313] China, in Tashkent and Kokand, and in these
342 places they have houses, lands, and gardens (1), but their number is very limited.

712 1. It is said that in the last years of the
346 18th century, Karabulat, a rich Kazak of the Durt-Kara tribe of the Little Horde,
[361] built a small fort made of clay on the shore of the Syr [Darya]. Inside he built a small mosque, also of clay, and lived near it in his tent, in the midst of a large number of his kinsmen and faithful adherents, who camped with him. This fort, which
103 soon tumbled down, was called Kara-Bulat-Tam i.e., "Karabulat's wall." Caravans came to this place to buy provisions and paid a small toll to the lord for free passage across his pasture lands. There were also some cultivated lands near the fort.

/202 cont./

000 life. by the way. they very rarely have to count to 10,000.)
805 Time is reckoned as it was among the ancient Mongols (from whom the system was taken). The year begins in March, and there are /203/ 28 days in a month. Time is reckoned in periods consisting of 12 years, each of which has the name of a special animal. The first year is "tshkan" (species of mice), the second is "siir" (cow), the third is "bars" /panther/, the fourth is "koyan" (hare), the fifth is "lu" (naukoobraznoye /dragon/), the sixth is "dzhilan" (snake), the seventh is "dzhilny" (horse), the eighth is "koy" (sheep), the ninth is "meshn" (centipede), the tenth is "tauk" (chicken), the eleventh is "it"(dog), and the twelfth is "dongz" (pig). For example, 1902 is the year of the hare (from March on); 1903 is "lu," etc.

157 The way of life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ has influenced the development of his lively sociable character, in which one finds good humor, hospitality, compassion, and honesty. Laziness, carelessness, and an inclination for gossip and feasting should be mentioned among the weak sides of his character. These features created and maintain the entire modern way of life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. In the summer the Kirghiz /Kazak leads a completely animal life, eating, drinking, riding, and entertaining guests. Work related to the economy and care of the family rests on the wife. Only in winter does the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have to trouble himself with the economy

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[462]

Kirghiz /Kazak/ woman.

/203 cont./

221 574 (primarily with the well-being of the livestock), but even here he finds time "to see his friends" /tamymichat'/, i.e., to ride from kstau to kstau (winter camp) to visit, eat a great deal, bring and listen to news.

181 The Kirghiz-Kazak are the most cultured people among the Turks wandering in Asia, and there is no doubt that a better future lies before them. Their number is increasing and they are showing themselves to be receptive to cultural advancements.

One may judge the comparative level of culture of the Kirghiz-Kazak in part by the character of their language, by the means and forms they have for expressing their thoughts, by the richness of the folk literature, and finally by the state of development of the arts.

114 197 Some Russian ethnologists (Patkanov, for example) relate the Kirghiz-Kazak dialect to the eastern group of the Turkic language, while others (Radlov) relate it to the western group, and more precisely to a special form of it -- the Kirghiz (which is spoken by all the Turks in our region). The Kirghiz /Kazak/ use the Arabic alphabet, which began to be spread among the Turks of Central Asia in the 8th century along with Islam. Before this (from the 4th century) they had the Syrian alphabet (brought in by Christians of the Nestorian sect). The enigmatic runic writing discovered by archeologists in Eastern Siberia has also been shown to belong to the Turks and not to the ancient Slavs, Finns, Jews, or other peoples, as many thought. A variety of the Syrian alphabet is retained now only among the Mongols and Manchu, while the remaining Turks use the Arabic alphabet.

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193 The Turkic language is one of the uninflected languages (having little development of grammatical relations between words). Its structure is based on the building of words, i.e., the grammatical relationship between words is expressed not by changing the original form of the word, but by adding suffixes (affixes) and insertions (infixes) to it. In this the link between the roots and these additions is so weak that all the

121 reasonably be expected to persist over time and which indicate probable vulnerabilities to psychological warfare.

## COMMUNICATIONS

Because psychological warfare depends ultimately upon the ability to communicate, the existing patterns and facilities for communication have been given considerable attention in the report. These data are concerned not only with radio communications, literacy rates, and similar factors of importance in communicating from a distance, but also with motion pictures and book publishing, which are important during consolidation operations. Such scanty data as are available are given on the distribution of ethnic groups in the republic as a whole and within cities, a matter of importance in helping to define the limits of informal or word-of-mouth communication. Even more scanty, but highly important, are the few available indications of the direction and amount of uncontrolled flow of Turkic peoples back and forth between the USSR and Afghanistan, Iran, and other countries.

## COLLECTIVIZATION

181 Among the many characteristics of Kazakh culture which have stood
● 221 in the way of successful adaptation to Soviet policy, their centuries-old dedication to a life of pastoral nomadism has consistently created the most acute problems—problems which became disastrous for the Kazakhs during the collectivization drive of the 1930's. For generations [933] the Kazakhs had led their flocks of sheep and goats in a yearly round between winter and summer grazing areas, traveling in bands whose [621] members were united by bonds of kinship and led by the senior men. Like so many nomads they were proud of their way of life and viewed agriculture and the sedentary life it implies as both unmanly and degrading. The small amount of farming which was occasionally done was performed by women, who have always occupied a subordinate position in Kazakh society, and by slaves and the poor.

[462] [564] [567]

The determination of the Soviet regime to settle the Kazakhs, along with the other peoples of the USSR, on collective farms met with resistance and cost hundreds of thousands of Kazakhs their livelihood and their lives. The net loss in Kazakh population in the period 1926-1939 amounted to almost one million; if one takes into account the normal increase otherwise to be expected during this time (based on figures for the USSR as a whole) the figure is closer to one and a half million.

C48 197 [161]

Some compromises were made during the later phases of collectivization, but the basic conflict remains and manifests itself in a number of different ways. The Kazakhs are among those affected by a plan for massive cultural change which the Soviets believe will eventually create a society uniformly organized in accordance with "socialist reality." Thus far, however, cultural change in Kazakhstan has failed in many ways to proceed according to plan.

595 Traditionally, the Kazakh was permitted to have more than one wife. However, very few men were able to afford the expense involved, because [583] marriage required large payments by the family of the groom to the fam- [554] ily of the bride. For those who could afford it, the possession of many wives meant an increase in prestige and status. Sometimes a man took another wife because he had not had any sons by the first wife. But in general, even though plural wives were permitted, such marriages were [167] few in number. In 1926, only 104.5 women were reported as married per 100 married men, exclusive of widows and divorcees. In Tsarist [648] times the number was not much larger. At present polygamy is forbid- den by law. Nevertheless, it is stubbornly maintained by the Kazakhs, and cases are constantly being reported and denounced in the Soviet [554] press. It is still a matter of status and prestige; the bulk of the polyg- amous marriages reported today involve men of high position in Soviet life, such as Kazakhs who are presidents of collective farms.

233 The Kazakh herds are composed of sheep, goats, cattle, horses, and 221 camels, usually in that numerical order. Herds cannot be maintained through the entire year in one place, because the grass on the steppes is not rich enough to support them. They must move from month to month and from season to season. However, there are too many herds- men and not enough steppeland to permit indiscriminate wandering. The usual pattern is for a nomadic camp to set up winter quarters where many smaller herding groups come together for religious and economic purposes. Here they store their hay through the winter to feed the live- stock, and put up windbreaks against the winter storms. In the early spring they disperse into smaller herding groups of a few families each, and proceed over traditionally fixed grazing routes to the summer camp which they occupy until early fall. Nomadism is a fixed annual round of movement, not a haphazard one.

166 The 1926 census reported that 5.6 per cent of the Kazakh males had established residence outside the district in which they had been born. The comparable figure for women was 20 per cent. The explanation for 591 this difference lies in the marriage customs, under which a Kazakh woman traditionally moves to her husband's family residence. It is almost unheard of for a man to move to the home of his wife's kin or for both to move together to a new residence. Most of the marriages involved a woman's moving only a short distance to her husband's fam- ily. But at least a fifth of the women had to move away from their native [584] districts; this usually meant that the marriage had been arranged for them at some distance from their birthplaces.

No significant changes in Kazakh life had taken place by the time 197 the first Soviet census was taken in 1926. The first few years of Soviet- 648 ization had left the Kazakhs more or less untouched. Their economic life, their family life, and the traditional organization of their society had changed only externally. They had come under the unified rule of Moscow instead of continuing their own loose social groupings, but Moscow had not yet begun the transformation of Kazakh life, nor had the Kazakhs yet faced the problems involved in accommodating to or resist- ing Soviet influence.

This distinction made between Batyr Srym and Kenesary by Soviet historians reflects the current Soviet attitude toward past leaders. These early khans who are now denounced are the national and cultural heroes of the Kazakhs. They are celebrated in the folk literature, the poetry, and the tales which parents tell their children; they are the basis of common comparisons ("as brave as . . ., as clever as . . ."). For the Kazakhs these figures are symbols of their unity as a people. Moreover, they are the ancestors of those living today, according to the traditional Kazakh ties of descent and blood. In denouncing them, the Soviets are denouncing and insulting the very people most venerated by the Kazakhs, aristocrats and commoners alike.

The hold of the olden khans still continues after more than 30 years of Soviet rule. The Kazakh native writers demonstrate a profound desire to seize upon these old figures for literary and historical themes. They stubbornly resist relinquishment of these themes when the official line changes anew. Despite three years of the sharpest attacks and polemics, adulation of the ancient heroes continues in the literature, in films, in classroom textbooks, in official histories; its eradication is a concern of the Soviet regime today.[1]

## KAZAKH LIFE IN 1950

The preceding description of the traditional Kazakh society and culture was included not only as background to the present, but primarily because whole sectors of Kazakhs continue more or less unchanged in that way of life, even though they are now members of a collective farm. Traditional Kazakh culture includes forces which have blocked accommodation to the Soviet pattern and forces which have permitted Sovietization. These forces will be taken up in turn.

In rural Kazakhstan, Kazakhs live in collective farms-either as herders or as combined herders and farmers. They form the greater proportion of the population in the regions which are primarily devoted to herding, western and west-central Kazakhstan. Here they continue the old nomad life, pasturing their herds of sheep, goats, horses, cattle, and camels from winter camp to summer, reversing their path and completing the cycle in the fall. The winter camps are the focal points of community life, the stable centers of the annual round. Here after the summer dispersal the Kazakhs return to large adobe houses, structures which contain not only quarters for the extended family, but also stables, connecting corridors, and rooms for the storage of hay. Some of these house-stable-barn structures are a century old; it was about one hundred years ago that domiciles of this type were introduced into the area.[2]

The extended families and villages have been the basis of Kazakh adaptation to Sovietization. Kazakh herders continue to live in kin units, with the old aul or nomadic village as the core of the herding

[1] *Pravda*, 26 Dec 50, 19 Apr 51, and 28 Oct 52; *Voprosy Istorii*, 1951, No. 4, pp. 3-15.
[2] Kurbe and Mukhova, 1952, pp. 43-45.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Chapter 5

# ECONOMY

## TRADITIONAL PATTERN OF KAZAKH ECONOMY

233 The traditional economy of the Kazakhs is herding, the raising of cattle, horses, camels, and, numerically the most important, sheep and goats. Settled life is despised, farming is despised. Herding is a nomadic way of life, but this does not mean indiscriminate wandering over the face of the earth. In the past, when all Kazakhs were nomads, [221] each herding community had its fixed pattern of grazing, starting in the spring from the winter quarters, traveling to pastures where they spent the summer, then returning over the same path to the winter [621] quarters again. Each community had its own territory for grazing and camping, and would fight off any intruder. Communities camped in closer proximity to each other—making for greater density of population—where there was more water and grass for the herds.[1]

233 199 The most favorable area for herding, with regard to the availability of plant cover and water, is in the northern part of the Kazakh steppe. Unfortunately, this part of the steppe is precisely the zone which is able to support a small amount of agriculture, and it was here that the Russians and Ukrainians settled in the 19th century. As a result the Kazakhs, in a period when their population was increasing, were thrust back on a more limited territory, away from the grassy steppe, away from the river and lake shores favored by the Slavs for agriculture, away from the water courses in northeastern Kazakhstan where mining, as well as agriculture, had been instituted. The steppe which remained to them was of poorer quality, for herding or for any other subsistence economy.

178 241 565 Faced with the problem of sustaining a herding economy with more of their number on less and poorer land, the Kazakhs began to take up agriculture. The first to go over to the new way were the poor, the marginal herders. The rich, of course, continued their pastoralism, hiring the poor to work for them. Out of this emerged a new pattern of mixed herding and farming. During the latter part of the 19th century, crops were planted at the winter quarters, and tended by the poor Kazakhs and by women, while the wealthier able-bodied men went off with the herds in the more honored occupation.

[1] For a detailed description of the Kazakh nomadic pattern, see Rudenko in Baranov, 1927.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

KN 241 369

beginning of World War II; the number reportedly increased "by several times" by 1943. At the beginning of the war, the proportion of persons making kitchen gardens in Karaganda—4.7 per cent—was two and a half times higher than that for the USSR as a whole. But Karaganda's percentage was soon surpassed by that of the Soviet Union, which by 1944 had mounted to about 10 per cent, five and a half times the prewar rate.[1]

KN 248 249

The third category of agricultural products includes fiber crops (cotton and hemp), vegetable oil crops (sunflower and olive—dried sunflower seeds are a favored Russian and Asiatic snack), tea, tobacco, and sugar beets. These crops are collectively called "technical crops" in the Soviet Union, because they are processed by techniques other than milling for the production of flour. Together with rice they are grown mostly in southern and southeastern Kazakhstan, where the original Turkic population has an age-old agricultural tradition, especially in irrigated farming. In 1938 there were 110,200 hectares in cotton and 14,000 hectares in sugar beets.[2]

KN 241 K [178] K [221]

The final category, that of agriculture in conjunction with herding, has become the typical Kazakh rural occupation. The trend toward a mixed economy of herding and farming which began in the 19th century under the combined influences of land pressure and diffusion of agricultural techniques has culminated in the virtual elimination of pure nomadism among the Kazakhs.

KN 494

The principal unit of agriculture in Kazakhstan is the collective farm. The peak years in the period of forced and accelerated collectivization were 1930 and 1931; the number of collective farms rose in those years from 4,212 to 7,800.[3] By 1932, the resistance of the rural population began to make itself felt, and there was a falling off in the number of collectives, coupled with a consolidation of those already organized. But the number gradually mounted during the mid-thirties, again reaching a figure greater than 7,000.[4] Just before World War II, with more purges and a second drive toward consolidation, the number dropped. In 1952 approximately 3,200 were reported[5]; this figure is said to be less than half that of 1950, for which no numerical data are available. This was part of an over-all cut; in 1951, the number of collective farms in the Soviet Union was halved.

In recent years, collective farms in Kazakhstan have decreased in number and increased in size. The latest figure for the total number of such farms is 3,145. At the same time, the average number of cooperative farming units per farm increased from 91 to 186. The total number of these cooperative units decreased from 8,558 to 2,047 in Kazakhstan, while the average size of the collective farms increased.[6]

To complete the picture, there were roughly 200 state farms at the end of the thirties; 258 were reported in 1953.[7] Five Machine Tractor

[1] All data from Dorodin, 1946, p. 59.
[2] *Kazakhskaia SSR*, pp. 62, 70.
[3] *Kazakhstan v Tsifrakh . . . .* p. 66.
[4] *Kazakhskaia SSR*, p. 18.
[5] *Planovoe Khoziaistvo*, 1953, No. 2, p. 80.
[6] *Voprosy Ekonomiki*, 1952, No. 2, p. 111.
[7] *Kazakhskaia SSR*, p. 86, and *Kazakhstan v poreyi god . . . .* p. 188.

S 563 517 rites. Even the poor give Tomashan, evening parties, to enjoy themselves.

S 563 624 554 577 7. Guardians of national customs

In Sinkiang, as in most Moslem communities, there are Sheikh-I-Islam, or guardians of public customs and morals. The people elect them, and their title is sanctioned by the district Khukum-Kazay. They receive no pay, but they are accorded honor and respect. Their duties are to guard over the morals and customs of the people, and to inspect the quality of goods sold in the bazaars and protect the consumers' interests. In the old days, the Sheikh-I-Islam were also to see that the women veiled their faces and that the men attended the mosques.

E. The Kazakhs

S 563 K 173 1. The people

The Kazakhs are one of the important peoples in Sinkiang Province. They and the New Uighurs are often referred to as people of one origin. According to legend, the early ancestor of mankind had two sons. One was timid and mild, the other tough and quick-tempered. The timid son was diligent in farming, but the other had no interest in cultivating the land, so he was driven away from home. The son who stayed on the farm became the ancestor of the New Uighurs; the other, of the Kazakhs. Another legend has it that the Kazakhs of Sinkiang are descendants of the younger brother of Chingis Khan.

S 563 K 526 (131) (241) The Kazakhs are nomads who have settled in the northern part of this region, northwest of Ili. Few of them farm. They are noted for their horsemanship. Children begin riding when they are very young, and little boys and girls are fastened to their parents' horses so they will become accustomed to all kinds of techniques, tricks and fast riding.

S 563 K 771 782 The people belong to the Islam faith. Because of their nomadic way of life they have few mosques. They pray at definite times, wherever it is convenient, always standing to face Mecca.

2. Patterns of living

a. Dwelling

S 563 K 221 As the people lead a nomadic life, they have definite periods in the yearly cycle for moving their tents. During the summer they journey from one pasture to another; in autumn they are busy shearing the sheep, stringing the hay, harvesting crops and preparing their winter quarters; the winter is the time for rest and relaxation.

S 563 K 342 During the summer they need light-weight tents. The shape of the Kazakh summer tent is similar to that of the Mongols, except that the Mongolian yurt has a round top and the Kazakh tent has a curved tip. This difference can be noted from afar.

The winter dwellings of the Kazakhs are permanent buildings

411 Kazakh scorns such a weapon, for he is receiving guns from the Russians which, though also unenviable, at least have percussion locks. Flintlocks were never used by the Kazakhs. Bows and arrows have been completely abandoned. One may add to the Kazakh weapons the whip (kamcha), which is sometimes as much as an inch in diameter. A blow on the head from this whip can kill a man or a beast.

492 The Kazakh saddle has a high front saddle bow, and in back is completely without a bow. It is quite high, light and very suitable for a good horseman. The kazakhs ride with short stirrups, as is the custom among all equastrian peoples.

221 Way of life. The form of life of the
361 Kazakhs is defined by their type of occupation. Cattle-raising inevitable demands constant moving at the rate that the cattle graze. This movement is called changing camp.

Changing camp among the Kazakhs is done in the following manner: /340/ an 'aul', that is, a group of a small number of tents, not more than fifteen or about that, are grazing their herds in the surrounding area. Usually before they decide to move, they send one or two young riders ahead to choose a suitable camping place, sometimes also to clean out the wells. The actual direction depends on the time of year. If this move occurs before the middle of the summer, they go in the opposite direction from the winter camp. If it occurs in the fall (dzhiliau in Kazakh) then the auls move in the direction of the winter camp. The length of stay in one place depends on the amount of

221 grass for grazing, and they rarely stay any-
361 where longer than a month. Sometimes they stay
[423] only several days. Meanwhile, however, it should be noted that according to a custom adopted once and for all, auls are not allowed to use grass for grazing around strange winter
[578] camps. When this custom is not observed it leads to quarrels, sometimes to fights, and in the past it led to cattle rustling because the offended parties in such a case had difficulty in feeding their herds in winter and attempted to avenge themselves for the damage suffered.

[462] The actual order of changing camp is as follows: the chief concern in gathering, storing and loading of the tents and property falls upon the women. The head of the household only supervises the arrangements, and the other men round up the cattle, and form herds from them, each family separately. The departure is after dark, and when everything is ready, the whole caravan (kos in Kazakh) begins to move. The housewife goes first, usually on horseback, and the other women ride after her on camels or horses, carrying the property. At this time the Kazakhs usually put on their best clothes. They place their most precious and costly things (carpets, samovars, and so on ) on the top, and in general the whole procession has a festive air. Since the cattle do not all move at the same pace, the herd soon begins to separate. As a result the aul sometimes spreads out over several versts. The head of the household is usually not with the moving aul; slow movement is boring to him and he rides somewhere to the side or hunts along the way. The march is usually not longer than 20 or 25 versts and then there is a halt and rest, which in summer is quite lengthy, up to three or four hours at

221 noontime. Then another such march is taken, so
361 that on the average /341/ the nomads move about forty versts in 24 hours, if there is no reason to hurry or to slow down.

595 Among the Kazakhs, as Moslems, there is
592 polygamy, but since the support of the wives and the payment to their parents for their purchase is quite burdensome, Kazakhs only rarely have two or three wives, while many have four (sic). The poor, however, have only one wife for the most part. Usually the oldest brother in the family has several wives. He is also the head of the family while it is living together, and his first wife directs the entire household. This wife is called 'baibicae' and not only are the other wives of her husband subordinate to her, but also all the female members of the family. Often the head of the family sends off part of the herd under the leadership of this wife for several hundred versts, and remains himself around the plowed land and his young wives, or else leads a nomadic life with the other part of the herd separately. In the winter, however, they travel together.

428 Inheritance. Usually the Kazakhs divide the inheritance while still alive with their grown sons, either upon their marriage or shortly thereafter. In all cases the rule is observed that the children of each mother receive an inheritance only from the estate of their mother, and not from the dowries of the other wives of their father. Also, after the death of the husband the wife keeps exactly her part of the dowry. The daughters are given in marriage, and after that they have no right to inheritance from the father if there are sons.